The Heritage Beneath our Feet

THE FORKS LA FOURCHE

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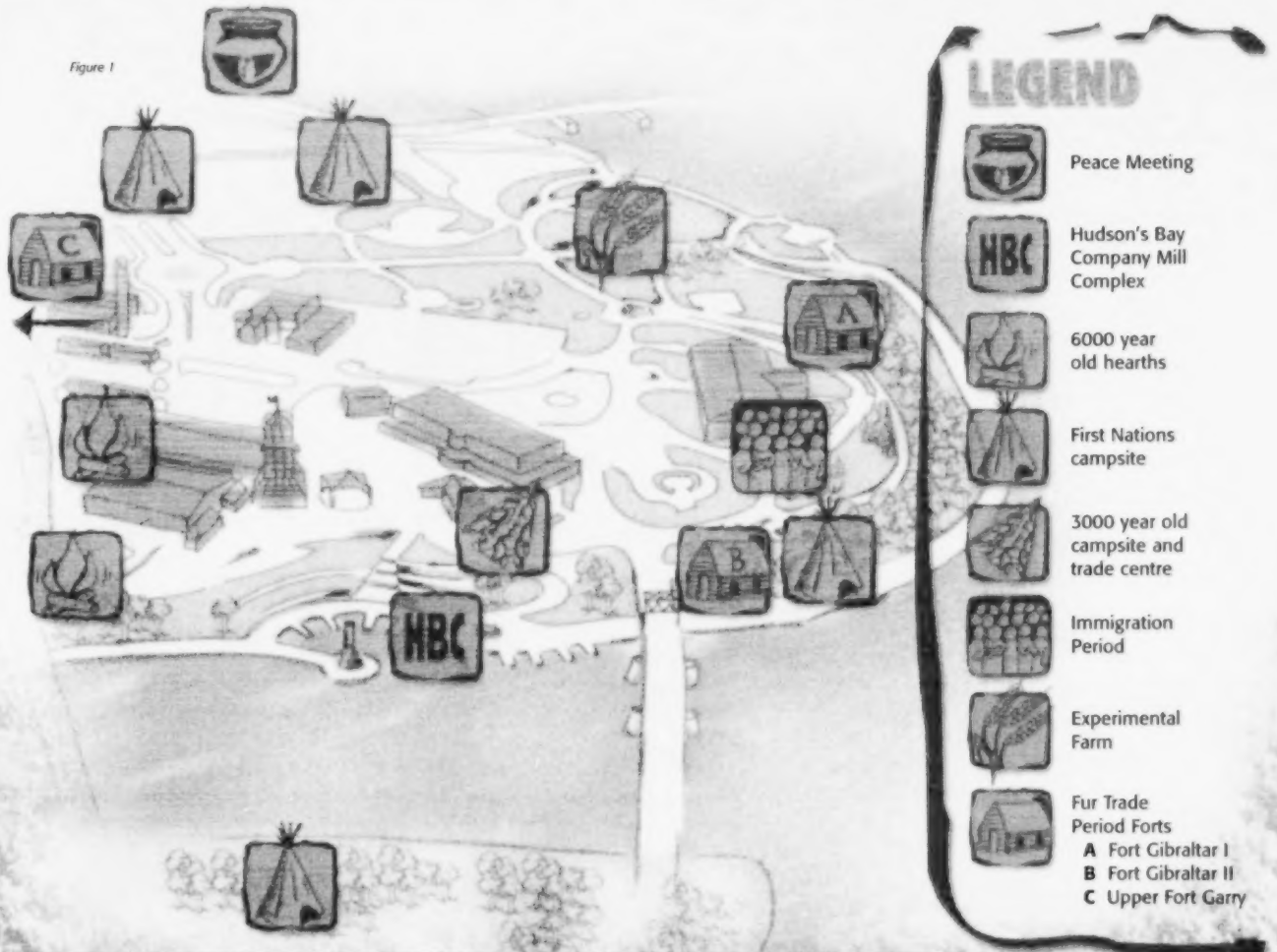
Over the last 6000 years, The Forks has been a site of intense use by people of the First Nations and more recently by Europeans and others from abroad. Archaeological investigations over the past 15 years have recovered artifacts that tell part of the story of the way of life and various survival techniques of the people of the past. These investigations have peeled back the layers of soil to reveal our heritage. This guide will highlight some of the major discoveries from specific time periods including the tools that were used for hunting, fishing, clothing manufacture, tool manufacture, and day-to-day activities. The teachings of the Elders also add important insight to the knowledge of the past.

Figure 1



From GLACIERS to 6000 Years Ago

10,000 years ago, this area was under hundreds of metres of ice. Gradually, this ice retreated to the north leaving behind the world's largest freshwater lake, glacial Lake Agassiz. As the lake receded 8500 years ago, herds of animals moved into this area followed by hunters from the south and the west.

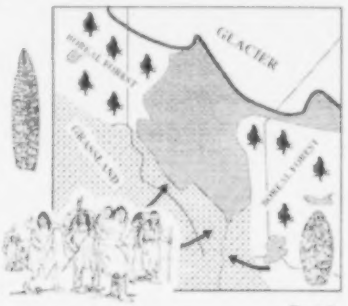


Figure 2

The first peoples were bison hunters who used the atlatl, a throwing board which increased the distance and force of a thrown spear.

Figure 3

Two 6000 year old hearths (camp fires), containing catfish remains and flakes from making stone tools, are the earliest evidence that people camped at The Forks. These hearths were uncovered at a depth of 6 metres (20 feet).

Figure 4

A 3000 Year Old campsite and trading centre

Archaeologists discovered a 3000 year old campsite and trading centre on the north bank of the Assiniboine River, three metres (10 feet) below the surface. Early peoples traded far and wide with others to obtain special items. A lithic (stone) cutting tool made of Alibates Chert, which is a type of rock found only in the Texas Panhandle, was recovered here. This knife was probably traded north along the Mississippi River and the Red River to reach The Forks.

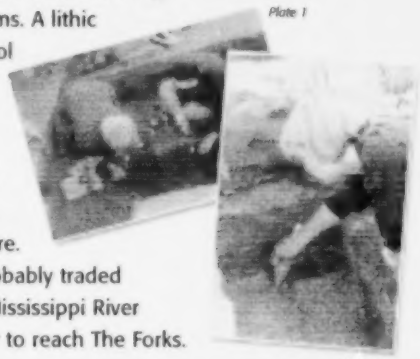


Plate 1

Plate 2

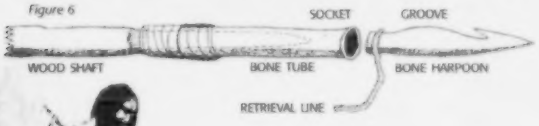
Figure 5

The different styles of recovered projectile points (arrowheads) confirm that people from the north, the plains, and the west met at The Forks.

Plate 3

The majority of the recovered artifacts were animal bone (bison, whitetail deer, fox, rabbit, beaver, and squirrel) and fish bone (catfish, sucker, pike, drum, walleye, goldeye, and sturgeon). Fish were harvested using a toggling harpoon, a sophisticated fishing technique.

Figure 6



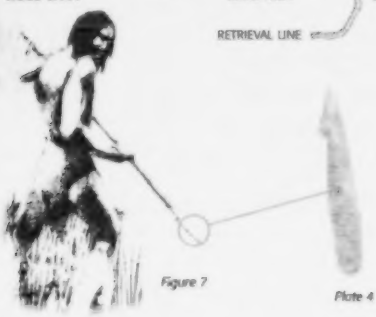


Figure 7

Plate 4

Daily activities also took place here. Knives, scrapers, projectile points and other tools were made by flaking suitable types of stone such as chert, quartz, quartzite, rhyolite, and chalcedony. This process, using many different techniques, is called flintknapping.

Figure 8

Women, with the help of the children, gathered many different plants and berries for food. Local plants that could have been part of the diet include hazelnut, cattail, nettle, fireweed, and breadroot. Berries such as saskatoon, pincherry, chokecherry, raspberry, and strawberry, would have been collected for eating and the surplus would have been dried for winter food supplies. The women also worked animal hides for the manufacture of clothing, shelter, and containers.

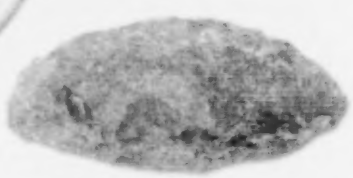
Figure 9

Stone scrapers were used to cleanse the hide and bone awls were used to punch holes for sewing the hide with sinew.

Plate 5

Plate 6

Woodworking, using stone axes and wedges for rough work as well as lithic knives and beaver teeth for finer work, produced arrow shafts, harpoon shafts, teepee poles, and dozens of other items.



Fresh-water clams not only provided food. People used the shells as raw material for making decorative beads and pendants.

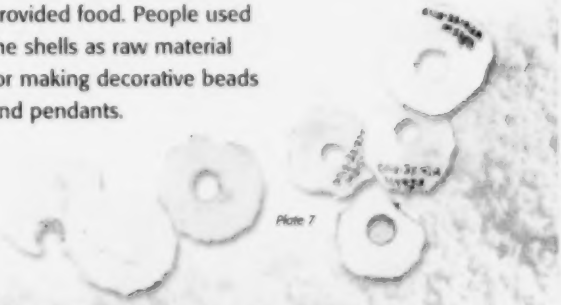


Plate 7

campsites and floods

Over the centuries, changes in climate resulted in differing vegetation and flooding that altered the landscape. One of the defining characteristics of The Forks are the many floods on the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. After people had camped here, the evidence of their campsites would be covered by mud from a flood, preserving the artifacts beneath the new soil.

The Forks was continually visited by different groups of people. A soil profile shows numerous sequential layers where artifacts from various cultures were found and the dates that people came to camp, hunt, fish, visit, trade, and meet other people.

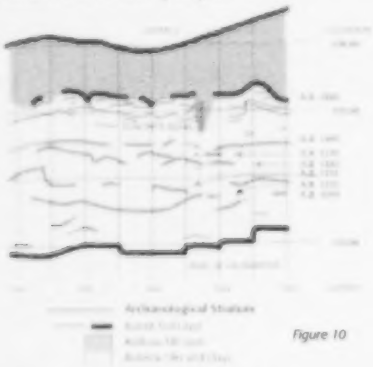


Figure 10

These people are the direct ancestors of today's First Nations peoples. They had many varied ways of life, depending upon how they obtained their living from the land: prairie people hunted bison, fished, and farmed; people of the forests relied on moose, fish, and wild rice; and people from the Great Lakes area hunted deer and fished. Because of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, it was very easy for people to come together to trade their special products with others.

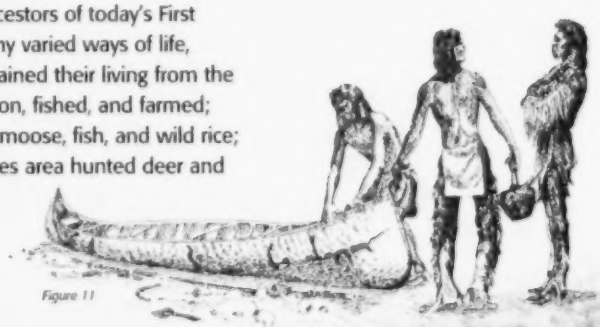


Figure 11

As well as being a highway, the two rivers provided a source of food. Different types of fishing methods were used. Recovered artifacts include a bone harpoon and a copper harpoon.

Plate 8

Figure 12

Figure 13

Corn farming occurred at Lockport (30 km north) and may have also occurred at The Forks since a hoe, made from a bison shoulder blade, was discovered here.

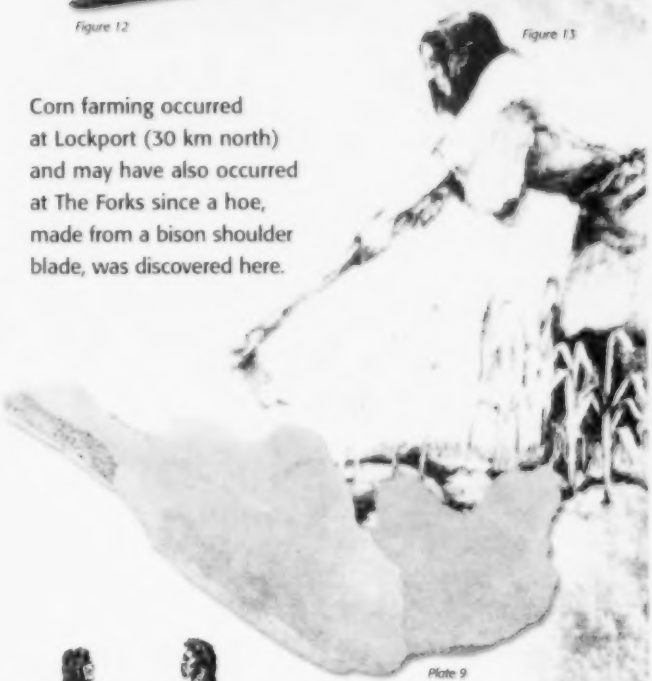


Plate 9

The "peace meeting"

Aboriginal Elder oral history tells of a Peace Meeting of several tribes, held at The Forks, over 500 years ago. Archaeological recoveries of campsites from this meeting are radiocarbon dated to A.D. 1285.

Figure 14

To support such a large gathering of people, intensive hunting and fishing occurred.

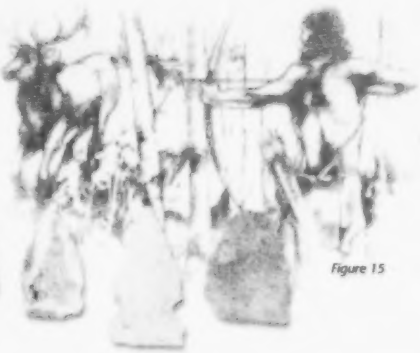


Figure 15

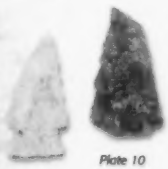


Plate 10

In addition, everyday activities took place in conjunction with the important trade and territory discussions. The site of this meeting covered a large area and archaeological research has recovered artifacts indicating that hideworking, stoneworking, and ornament manufacture occurred as well as daily food preparation.

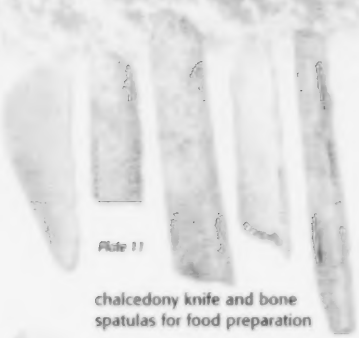


Plate 11

chalcedony knife and bone spatulas for food preparation

bone scrapers and awls for hideworking

Plate 12

Plate 13

antler flaker for stoneworking and elk tooth for decoration

One of the most important activities was the creation of pottery by the women of the different groups. These pots were used as storage containers or cooking pots. Archaeologists use the different styles of pottery, which were introduced 2000 years ago, to identify different cultures. The earliest technique of pottery making was coiling, while later pots were made inside woven bags or net molds. The pottery found so far at The Forks has been made with the net method.

Figure 16

Figure 17

Various bone and wood tools were used to decorate these pots with distinct patterns. This was done by using a cord-wrapped stick to produce impressions by incising with shaped bone tools or by pressing round, oval, or square objects into the clay. Different decorative styles have been given names usually based on the area or town where the sherds of that type of pottery were first discovered. More than one group of First Nations people could have manufactured the same style of pottery.

Figure 18

The distinctive types of recovered ceramics indicate people came from southern Manitoba (Winnipeg River and Blackduck); southwestern Manitoba and eastern Saskatchewan (Plains Woodland); Manitoba and the Dakotas (Sandy Lake and Red River); east central Manitoba (Bird Lake and Duck Bay); western Ontario (Rainy River); and southern Minnesota (Oneota).

Plate 14

Archaeologists seldom find complete ceramic pots. Based on the recovered ceramic fragments, artists have drawn images that show what the complete pot may have looked like before it was broken during use.

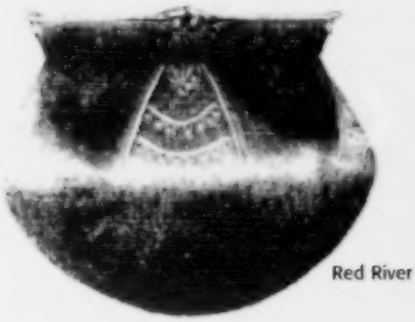


Figure 19

First Contact

La Vérendrye was the first European to meet the First Nations peoples camped at The Forks. While he was at Lake of the Woods in 1737, he was invited by the Nakota (Assiniboin) to come to The Forks. He reported that there were two camps of Assiniboin at the junction of the two rivers. When he returned in 1738, Cree were present.

Figure 20

Archaeological evidence has yet to be found, but valid archival data records the presence of Fort Rouge (1738 - 1749), established by La Vérendrye, somewhere in the vicinity of The Forks.

Other traders passed through the area prior to the establishment of the first permanent fur trade post here in 1810. Along with the traders, numerous First Nations groups including the Nakota (Assiniboin), Dakota (Sioux), Anishinaabe (Ojibwa), and Cree also camped in the area.

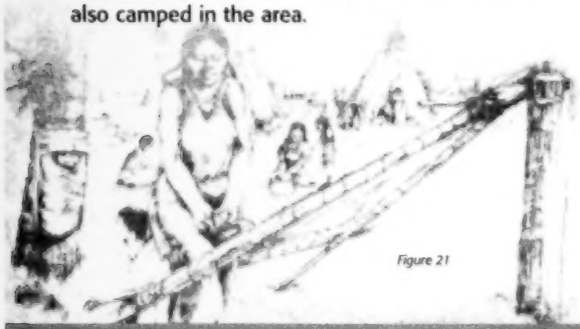


Figure 21

The Fur trade era

Fort Gibraltar I was built on the west bank of the Red River in 1810 by the North West Company. It was a provisioning post for obtaining pemmican, a pounded mix of dried bison meat, melted fat, marrow, and berries.

Figure 22

Plate 15

Archaeologists found remnants of the buildings and evidence of trade. Items traded for furs included muskets, shot and gunflints, beads, tinkling cones, rings, and brass pots.

Figure 23
Chief Peguis
painted by
Peter Rindisbacher
circa 1821

Plate 16

Fort Gibraltar I was dismantled and burned in 1815 during conflict between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company and their allies, the Selkirk Settlers.

In 1826, a huge flood inundated this area, leaving a layer of sand and silt over the ruins of the fort. Archaeologists found prints of moccasin-clad people, cattle, horses, and buggy wheels encapsulated just underneath this layer. These may have been made by people fleeing from the flood with their livestock and possessions.

Figure 24

Plate 17

Fort Gibraltar II was built in 1817 by the North West Company on the north bank of the Assiniboine River at the junction of the two rivers.

Figure 25

In 1821, after amalgamation with the Hudson's Bay Company, it became the western headquarters for the fur trade. It was then renamed Fort Garry.

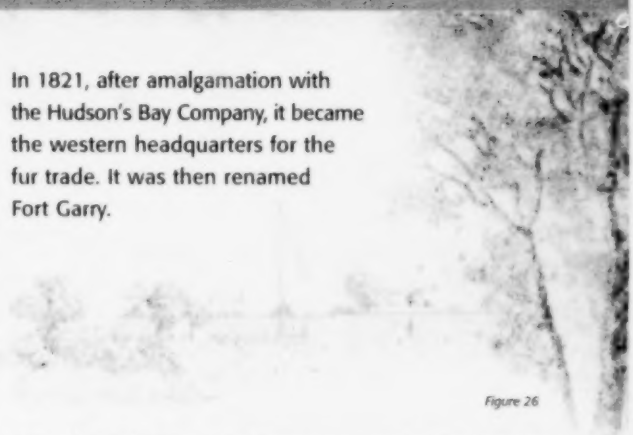


Figure 26

During its existence, Fort Garry was a major provisioning centre for the pemmican trade with large groups of Métis bison hunters pursuing the herds in the western prairies and bringing back the meat in caravans of Red River carts. The hunts expanded from 500 carts in 1820 to 1200 carts in 1840.

Figure 27

This fort was badly damaged by the huge flood of 1826. Some surviving buildings were used in conjunction with the Hudson's Bay Company Experimental Farm, established in 1836. In 1852, another large flood destroyed the remaining buildings.

During the reconstruction of Main Street in 1998, archaeologists discovered the remains of one of the bastions and the east wall of Upper Fort Garry.

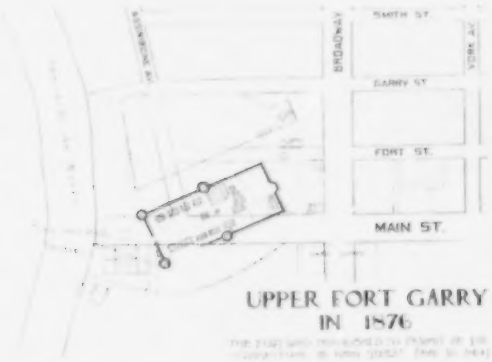


Figure 30

Because of the 1826 flood which almost destroyed the Hudson's Bay Company facilities and the Red River Colony, George Simpson (Governor of the HBC) decided to build a fort outside of the flood zone. He commissioned the construction of Lower Fort Garry, a considerable distance north on the Red River. It was a good location, but the fur trade focus was at the junction of the two rivers requiring the building of another fort at The Forks. In 1835, Upper Fort Garry was built by the Hudson's Bay Company.

Figure 28

Plate 18

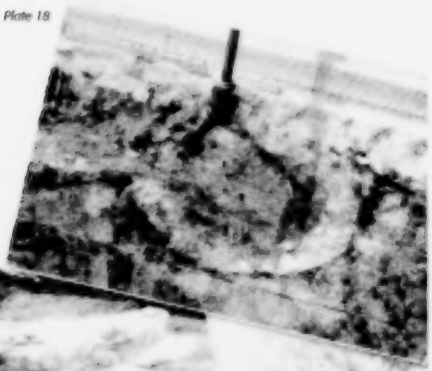
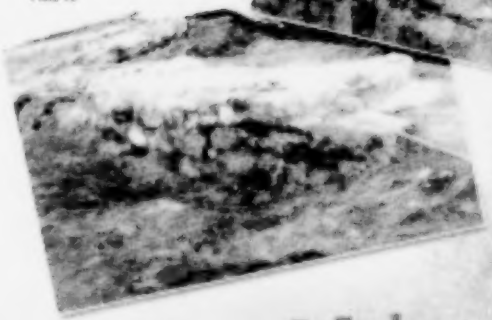


Plate 19



In 1852, the fort was doubled in size to accommodate British troops as well as carry on company business.

Figure 29

Upper Fort Garry was the political, administrative, business, and social centre for Rupertsland (western Canada). The fort had permanent residents—traders, clerks, and the governor of the territory. Some remnants of dishes that would have been used by the inhabitants were recovered along with other artifacts such as cloth, buttons, beads, combs, and square nails.

Plate 20

The introduction of steam paddleboats on the Red River increased trade with the Americans to the south. To accommodate commercial freight, the Hudson's Bay Company built a large warehouse at The Forks.

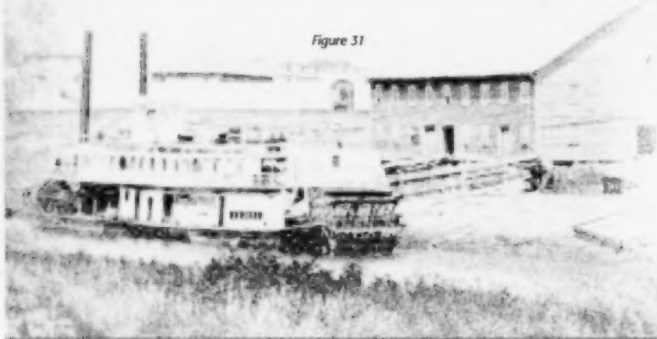


Figure 31

With the economy changing from fur trade to agriculture and with increased urbanization, the First Nations presence at The Forks diminished. However, over the next century, the City of Winnipeg continued to benefit from the many contributions of members of the different First Nations communities with increasing numbers choosing to reside in the city.

The Hudson's Bay Company established a flour mill complex in 1872. Evidence of the basement and pilings from this mill were found during an archaeological project.

Plate 21

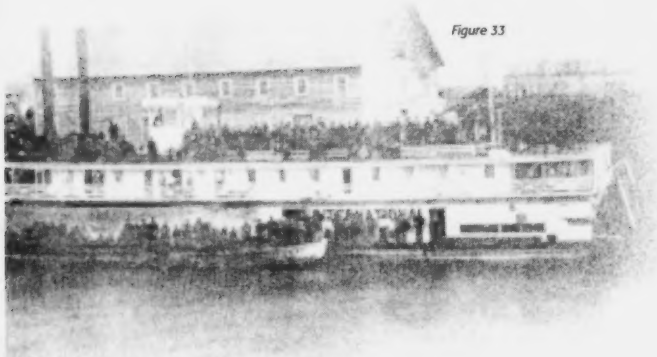
Figure 32

Demolition of Upper Fort Garry began in the 1870s and by 1885 the only remaining portion was the north gate which still stands at the corner of Broadway and Main Street.

The Immigration Period

Massive waves of immigrants began arriving by steamboat, from 1870 through the 1890s. Women and children could stay at the immigration sheds built along the river while the men went out to homestead.

Figure 33



In 1888, the Northern Pacific and Manitoba Railroad established its northern terminus at The Forks and settlers began arriving by train.

Figure 34

For a century this area was a hub of railroad activity. The construction of Union Station (on Main Street) and the High Line Main Track in 1911 made The Forks all but inaccessible to most people.

Figure 35

Since 1988, with the establishment of The Forks Renewal Corporation and The Forks National Historic Site of Canada (Parks Canada), this site has once again become a meeting place for all with visiting, trading, music, and storytelling as it had been in the past.

In recognition of the rich history of this location, The Forks North Portage Partnership ensures that all development projects have an archaeologist present. This is to make sure that the resources are protected and recovered in such a manner that the pages of history have new facts written upon them. There are still untold resources beneath our feet, each with their own story to tell.

acknowledgements

The guidance and help of Dr. E. Leigh Syms, Sid Kroker, Jeff Palmer, and the members of The Forks Heritage Advisory Committee are gratefully acknowledged.

Author: **Pam Goundry**

Artifact Photos: **Ken Miner**

Design: **Tom Powell Design Studio**

For those who wish to learn more of the fascinating history of this site, further information can be obtained from The Forks North Portage Partnership; The Forks National Historic Site of Canada (Parks Canada); Historic Resources Branch of Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Tourism; The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature; the Provincial Archives of Manitoba; and Quaternary Consultants Ltd.

July 2002

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Source: Compiled by Pam Goundry, Designed by Tom Powell Design Studio

Figure 2 Map showing glacier receding/movement of people into Manitoba
Source: Pettipas, Leo, 1996:43, *Aboriginal Migrations: A History of Movements in Southern Manitoba.* Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

Figure 3 Drawing of man throwing atlatl at bison
Source: Leigh Syms, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature; Pettipas, Leo *et. al.* 1983:37, Introducing Manitoba Prehistory. Manitoba Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources. *Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Popular Series* No. 4., Winnipeg.

Figure 4 Drawing of man with camp fire
Source: Dickson, Gary A., 1977:20, *Prehistoric Northern Manitoba.* Historic Resources Branch, Department of Tourism, Recreation and Cultural Affairs and Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

Figure 5 Drawing of First Nations trade meeting
Source: McLeod, K. David, 1987:47, *Land Below The Forks Archaeology, Prehistory and History of the Selkirk and District Planning Area.* Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Figure 6 Artists rendition of harpoon and shaft
Source: Kroker, Sid and Pam Goundry, 1993:126, *A 3000 Year Old Native Campsite and Trade Centre at The Forks.*

Figure 7 Drawing of man fishing with harpoon
Source: Pettipas, Leo *et al.*, 1983:159, Introducing Manitoba Prehistory. Manitoba Department of Cultural Affairs and Historical Resources. *Papers in Manitoba Archaeology, Popular Series* No. 4., Winnipeg.

Figure 8 Two drawings of man flintknapping/ close up of hand work
Source: Pokotylo, David L., 1988:9, Blood from Stone. UBC Museum of Anthropology. *Museum Note* No. 11 (2nd Edition).

Figure 9 Drawing of woman working hide
Source: McLeod, K. David, 1987:38, *Land Below The Forks Archaeology, Prehistory and History of the Selkirk and District Planning Area.* Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Figure 10 Soil profile of trenches with dates
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 1999:9, *Impact Assessment and Archaeological Monitoring of The Forks Access Project: South of Water Avenue (DlLg-33:97A).*

Figure 11 Drawing of people with canoe
Source: Pettipas, Leo, 1996:102, *Aboriginal Migrations: A History of Movements in Southern Manitoba.* Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

Figure 12 Photocopy of bone harpoon
Source: MacDonald, Jake, 1993:35, Land of the North Wind. In *Manitoba 125 - A History.* Volume 1: Rupertsland to Riel. Great Plains Publications, Winnipeg.

Figure 13 Drawing of woman hoeing Corn
Source: McLeod, K. David, 1987:45, *Land Below The Forks Archaeology, Prehistory and History of the Selkirk and District Planning Area.* Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Figure 14 Drawing of First Nation campsite
Source: Historic Resources Branch (HRB), 1989:80, *The Oldtimers First Peoples of the Land of the North Wind.* Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation. Historic Resources, Winnipeg.

Figure 15 Drawing of bow hunter and elk
Source: McLeod, K. David, 1987:44, *Land Below The Forks Archaeology, Prehistory and History of the Selkirk and District Planning Area.* Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Figure 16 Drawing of woman making coiled pottery
Source: Pettipas, Leo, 1996:88, *Aboriginal Migrations: A History of Movements in Southern Manitoba.* Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

Figure 17 Drawing of woman making pottery in net
Source: Pettipas, Leo, 1996:91, *Aboriginal Migrations: A History of Movements in Southern Manitoba.* Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

Figure 18 Drawings of decorating pots
Source: Behm, Jeffery A., 1997:24, Prehistoric Technology. *The Wisconsin Archeologist* 78(1/2):21-46.

Figure 19 Drawings of complete Aboriginal pots
Source: Tisdale, M.A. and E. Leigh Syms, 2001;38, 40, *Native Ceramics Course Workbook.* Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 1999:121, *Impact Assessment and Archaeological Monitoring of The Forks Access Project: South of Water Avenue (DlLg-33:97A).*

Figure 20 La Vérendrye exploration
Source: McLeod, K. David, 1987:55, *Land Below The Forks Archaeology, Prehistory and History of the Selkirk and District Planning Area.* Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation, Historic Resources Branch, Winnipeg.

Figure 21 Campsite with woman dressing hide, child in cradleboard
Source: Historic Resources Branch (HRB), 1989:80, *The Oldtimers First Peoples of the Land of the North Wind.* Manitoba Culture, Heritage and Recreation. Historic Resources, Winnipeg.

Figure 22 Drawing of woman making pemmican
Source: Pettipas, Leo, 1996:152, *Aboriginal Migrations: A History of Movements in Southern Manitoba.* Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, Winnipeg.

Figure 23 Rindisbacher painting of Chief Peguis circa 1821
Source: Karklins, Karlis, 1992:29, *Trade Ornament Usage Among the Native Peoples of Canada A Source Book.* Studies in Archaeology Architecture and History, National Historic Sites, Parks Service, Environment Canada.

Figure 24 Drawing of 1826 Flood/Canoe/Buildings
Source: Bumsted, J.M., 1997:18, *Floods of the Centuries A History of Flood Disasters in the Red River Valley 1776-1997.* Great Plains Publications, Winnipeg.

Figure 25 Rindisbacher drawing of Fort Gibraltar II/Fort Garry
Source: Carter, Sarah, 1988:#5 (PAM N10608 Collection: Fort Gibraltar II) at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 26 Rindisbacher drawing of first Fort Garry (Fort Gibraltar II)
Source: Carter, Sarah, 1988:#4 (Glenbow - Alberta Institute No1476A) at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 27 Photograph of people and Red River cart
Source: Goodhand, Joyce, 1999: MMMN6 (Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature) at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 28 Finlay drawing of Upper Fort Garry - 1846 (before expansion)
Source: Carter, Sarah, 1988:#12 (Glenbow-Alberta Institute 58.24.77) at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 29 Photograph of Upper Fort Garry (after expansion)
Source: Carter, Sarah, 1988:#34
(PAM Collection: Fort Garry 37/1)
at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 30 Map of Upper Fort Garry superimposed on Main Street
Source: Loewen, Brad and Gregory Monks, 1986:166, A History of the Structures at Upper Fort Garry, Winnipeg, 1835-87. Environment Canada, Canadian Parks Service, *Microfiche Report Series* 330; Carter, Sarah, 1988:#63
at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 31 Photograph of International tied up at Hudson's Bay Company Warehouse (Upper Fort Garry in background)
Source: Carter, Sarah, 1988:#38 (Hudson's Bay Company Archives Collection: Brigdens A1294 1 -11)
at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 32 Photograph of Hudson's Bay Flour Mill and Granary
Source: Carter, Sarah, 1988:#50
(PAM Collection: Winnipeg-Buildings-Business)
at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 33 Immigrants arriving at Upper Fort Garry aboard International
Source: Carter, Sarah, 1988:#40 (not listed)
at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 34 Immigrants arriving by train in Winnipeg
Source: Goodhand, Joyce, 1999: MMMN 11
(Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature)
at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Figure 35 Photograph showing rail activity at The Forks (1956)
Source: Goodhand, Joyce, 1999: PAM 53
(Provincial Archives of Manitoba)
at The Forks North Portage Partnership.

Plate 1 Archaeologists excavating at 3000 year old campsite
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd.

Plate 2 Archaeologists excavating at 3000 year old campsite
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd.

Plate 3 Projectile Points from Trade Centre
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Kroker, Sid and Pam Goundry, 1994, *Archaic Occupations at The Forks.*

Plate 4 Bone Harpoon
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Kroker, Sid and Pam Goundry, 1993, *A 3000 Year Old Native Campsite and Trade Centre at The Forks.*

Plate 5 Hand using hafted scraper, lithic scrapers and bone awl - hideworking artifacts
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Kroker, Sid and Pam Goundry, 1993, *A 3000 Year Old Native Campsite and Trade Centre at The Forks.*

Plate 6 Stone biface and beaver incisors and handle - woodworking artifacts
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections, Kroker, Sid and Pam Goundry, 1993, *A 3000 Year Old Native Campsite and Trade Centre at The Forks.*

Plate 7 Shell beads
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Kroker, Sid and Pam Goundry, 1993, *A 3000 Year Old Native Campsite and Trade Centre at The Forks.*

Plate 8 Bone harpoon and copper harpoon
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 1999, *Impact Assessment and Archaeological Monitoring of The Forks Access Project: South of Water Avenue (DlLg-33:97A).*

Plate 9 Bison bone hoe (agriculture)
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 1999, *Impact Assessment and Archaeological Monitoring of The Forks Access Project: South of Water Avenue (DlLg-33:97A).*

Plate 10 Projectile Points from Peace Meeting
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 2000, *Archaeological Mitigation of the CanWest Global Park Baseball Facility.*

Plate 11 Stone biface and bone spatulas - food preparation artifacts
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 1989, *Provencher Bridge Archaeological Impact Assessment.*

Plate 12 Bone scrapers and awls - hideworking artifacts
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 2000, *Archaeological Mitigation of the CanWest Global Park Baseball Facility.*

Plate 13 Antler flaker and elk tooth - stoneworking artifacts and decoration
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 2000, *Archaeological Impact Assessment of the Legacy Estates Project at The Forks;* Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 2000, *Archaeological Mitigation of the CanWest Global Park Baseball Facility.*

Plate 14 Ceramic sherds
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 1999, *Impact Assessment and Archaeological Monitoring of The Forks Access Project: South of Water Avenue (DlLg-33:97A).*

Plate 15 Archaeologists excavating at Fort Gibraltar I
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd.

Plate 16 Trade goods - beads, tinkling cones, gunflints, shot
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections

Plate 17 Photograph of prints and buggy ruts
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd.

Plate 18 Photograph of remains of Upper Fort Garry bastion
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd.

Plate 19 Photograph of remains of Upper Fort Garry east wall
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd.

Plate 20 Artifacts from Upper Fort Garry (pitcher, plate, cup)
Source: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Collections; Quaternary Consultants Ltd., 1998, *Archaeology of Main Street Roadworks: York Avenue to Tache Avenue 1996 - 1998.*

Plate 21 Archaeologist excavating piling from Hudson's Bay Company Flour Mill
Source: Quaternary Consultants Ltd.